2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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This aspect of the *Bɔyar* cult had great economic and social importance, in the past, for the Hill Talis. The pilgrims bring gifts of salt, cloth, hoes and so forth, nominally for the *Bɔyar*, that is, the Primordial Ancestor, who is believed to manifest himself in the oracular voice. Actually these gifts are secretly shared among the heads of the maximal lineages which own the particular *Bɔyar*. Nowadays these gifts are of small, though by no means negligible, worth, for all these commodities can be bought in any market, far more cheaply than in the past. But in the past they represented a valuable source of supply of scarce and highly prized goods.

Again, the visits of the pilgrims are annually reciprocated by a visit to the client village of representatives of the Talis lineage which is its sponsor with the *Bɔyar* to which it owes ritual allegiance. These ritual visits are made in order to consecrate local shrines representing the *Bɔyar*, to release pilgrims and children born to them from special taboos, and to perform the ritual shaving of the children by which they are formally placed under the spiritual guardianship of the *Bɔyar*. But these services are paid for in cowries and other gifts, and portions of the animals sacrificed are taken home and added to the meat supply of the sponsors. Young men go along on these ritual tours carrying fowls for sale in the client villages, and sometimes buy grain or yams in return.

The pilgrim traffic was, therefore, in former times an economic asset of the first importance as the Hill Talis and their neighbours themselves point out. It gave them also a wider range of social and cultural relationships than their own restricted community. People travelling to and from the Tong Hills on ritual errands carried the sacred emblems of the *Bɔyar* cult and were safe from molestation.

Some twenty years ago the pilgrim traffic took a new turn. Tallensi were coming into contact with Ashanti and the coast, and thus news of the Tong Hills 'fetishes' reached those areas. Men from the Hills, with a mixture of inborn business acumen and sincere faith in the magical powers of their oracle cult, advertised the cult quietly. A trickle of pilgrims from these wealthy and comparatively sophisticated areas began to flow northwards. And the trickle soon became a broad stream. Rich and poor, farmers, traders, chiefs, commoners, literate and illiterate, pagans and Christians joined the stream. To-day this traffic is a major industry of the Tong Hills.

These pilgrims[1] from the south come with extraordinarily varied wishes to lay before the *Bɔyar*. They beg for children, for health, for wealth, for power, for the success of farming and business enterprises, for victory in litigation, for help in a career or in the prosecution of political aims. Most important of all, Ashanti and Colony medicine men come to purchase the privilege of ritual clientship of the *Bɔyar*. They receive the right to

[1] I am indebted to Dr. M. J. Field, formerly Government Anthropologist, Gold Coast, for some information on the Colony end of this traffic. See also her *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* for references to 'Nana Tongo' and her paper 'Some New Shrines of the Gold Coast and their Significance', *Africa*, xiii. 2, 1940. Rattray, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 361 ff., gives a vivid description of the ceremony at the Tɔŋna'ab *Bɔyar* when hundreds of southern pilgrims come to present their pleas and register their vows.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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788 set up a shrine affiliated to Tɔŋna'ab at their own homes, and these
782 shrines are used by them (*vide* Field, op. cit.) in their own ritual practice
425 to cure witchcraft and dissipate other forms of magical misfortune or misdeeds.

431 This traffic is extremely profitable to the Hill Talis concerned in it.
788 The pilgrims bring gifts in money and kind beside which the traditional gifts of Mamprusi or Bulisi client villages pale into insignificance. Those
439 who have received benefits bring gifts. The medicine men who own
434 affiliated shrines pay heavily for the privilege and bring periodical gifts in gratitude for benefits received. These vary from a pound or two to £10, £20, and in at least one case, for the authenticity of which I have good evidence, £100. In addition the pilgrims pay generously for their board and lodging and for animals which they offer in sacrifice at the *Bɔyar*.

556 From the beginning this traffic was monopolized by one maximal
439 lineage of Tɛnzugu, Gɔlibdaan yidɛm of Bunkiuk. The head of this
471 lineage, the Gɔlibdaana, a shrewd and resolute man of unbounded ambition, was, until the recent political reorganization of the country, recognized by Government as the headman of the Hill clans. He used his political authority to keep the pilgrim traffic with the south in his own hands, allowing only a minor share of the profits to go to his fellow ritual functionaries of the *Bɔyar* (Wannii) to which his lineage belongs. With the aid of the young men of his lineage and young men of other Tɛnzugu clans attracted to him by the lure of gain he has built up a complex organization for keeping contact with Ashanti and Colony pilgrims and clients and for stimulating the flow of pilgrims. By Tale standards he is a Croesus, but it would be hopeless for an outsider to attempt to estimate his wealth. It is enough to see his huge and well-kept homestead, his
[595] eighty wives, the sumptuous clothes he affects, the extravagance of his gifts to friends and adherents, to realize that he must derive an income of several hundred pounds a year entirely from this pilgrim traffic.

Though he is himself the principal beneficiary of this monopoly, all the members of his maximal lineage, except one segment, co-operate in running it and benefit from it. His closest partners are some of his own half-brothers and cousins, and their share of the profits is enough to make them considerably more wealthy than the average native. Two or three henchmen belonging to other Tɛnzugu clans and the other ritual functionaries of the *Bɔyar* whose presence is essential for the performance of the rites of accepting the pilgrims get about the same 'rake-off' as his near agnates. On a rough estimate I should say that the Gɔlibdaana keeps about half the profits and divides the other half among the other
[595] men interested in the business. This enables these others—his close agnates, his henchmen, and the other ritual functionaries of the *Bɔyar*—to have from five to nine wives each, where the ordinary native of similar age and status would have at most two or three wives; and the number of wives a man has is a good indication of his income in terms of food-supply and cash. The economic system of the Tallensi provides no outlets for this wealth in new economic enterprise. What cannot be invested in wives, live-stock, and clothes, or consumed in the form of

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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food, beer, tobacco, kola nuts, and household and farming equipment, must be hoarded. One result has been that the Gəlibdaana's ambitions have been enormously inflated. He has been striving to turn his wealth into prestige. He would fain be a great chief, and has for years been scheming and intriguing to this end. As is common in African societies to which European contact has opened up new economic opportunities that are wholly or partially divorced from their own social structure and economic system, the Gəlibdaana's response to the opportunity offered by the pilgrim traffic has been a mixture of cupidity, calculation, and unbridled self-interest.

The point of interest here is the effect of the Gəlibdaana's monopoly on the interrelations of the Hill Talis clans. All the other clans of the Hills view it with open envy, in particular Kpata'ar, the clan immediately contiguous with the Gəlibdaana's clan, Bunkiuk. The people of Kpata'ar claim political superiority to Bunkiuk, on the strength of their being (as they assert) *primus inter pares* in the scheme of ritual collaboration among the Hill clans. They therefore demand the lion's share of the pilgrim traffic with the south, though they are now wholly excluded from it. The other clans of the Hills excluded from this traffic make similar but smaller demands. It is, in effect, a demand for a distribution of the profits of this new economic application of the *Bɔyar* cult on the same lines as the distribution of the traditional client villages. In the traditional arrangement the economic exploitation of the cult follows the accepted principles of equality and equilibrium in the social system. Each of the dozen or so *Bɔya* of the Hill Talis had its group of client communities exclusively reserved for it and there were no great variations between the profits of one *Bɔyar* and another.

An immediate result has been that the Gəlibdaana no longer exercises undisputed headmanship, as the executive agent of the Administration, over all the Tɛnzugu clans. In 1933 he was in control of all the Tɛnzugu clans in all matters falling under the jurisdiction of the Administration. He called out the young men for road building or rest-house repairs; exacted a tribute from all independent householders living on top of the Hills or entitled to live there; and judged all cases brought against Tɛnzugu people or sent on cases from Tɛnzugu to other headmen or chiefs. Since 1936 the Kpata'ar faction has refused to submit to his control in these matters. Meanwhile the Administration has ruled that neither the Gəlibdaana nor the Kpata'arna'ab shall be recognized as headman of the Tɛnzugu clans until the people have settled among themselves which of them is rightfully entitled to the post. So there are now two headmen.

To-day a silent feud, taking the form of intrigue and conspiracies to undermine one another's reputation with the Administration, rages among the Hill Talis. On one side stands the Gəlibdaana and his faction, the nucleus of which is the majority of his own maximal lineage; on the other the factions hostile to him, chief of which is the maximal lineage of the Kpata'arna'ab. The struggle has become so acute, on several occasions, that bloodshed was only prevented by the fear of stern intervention by the District Commissioner.

The feud follows the lines of cleavage between clans and maximal

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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OTHER SOURCES OF FOOD SUPPLY. A particular household at a 437 particular time may have quite a number of sources of food supply besides the fields of the unit of food economy to which it belongs. Next to their farms the most important source of food supply for the Tallensi is the market, especially in the lean months. A completely empty granary imposes upon the head of the self-supporting unit the duty of finding grain. This is when he falls back on his live stock and sells or barters them for grain.[1] As long as he has some grain to ration out, however frugally, he will not buy for common consumption. Each household and each primary family must exert itself to make up the deficient grain supply. The junior householders and the women—the keenest and most inveterate market traders—exploit the resources • [439] of the grain market. Those who have a little money go as far as Nabte or Mampuru land, countries rich in grain two or three days' march away, to buy guinea-corn, late millet, or maize. They bring back the grain in bags of roughly 20 to 40 lb. weight. The usual procedure is for the purchaser to bring home his or her grain, set aside a small portion—perhaps 5 to 10 lb.—for his or her own consumption and retail the rest at the local market so as to realize the original outlay or a few pence more. The principal profit consists in the small quantity eaten. Many women turn the grain or pulse they buy into cooked food, a small proportion of which goes to feed their husbands and children, but most of which is sold in the market at a profit and the proceeds re-invested in grain. But very many people have to be content with purchasing small quantities in the local markets. A man may sell a few chickens or guinea-fowl or a goat or something he has made, like an adze-shaft or a bow; a woman sells some ground-nuts, dried vegetables, shea nuts, shea butter or some dawa-dawa seed balls (*kpolug*) to buy the grain. In this way does the market help to eke out the domestic supply of grain.

This source of grain supply is wholly subject to the principle of 596 differentiation of subordinate units within the unit of food economy. A woman's market-purchases, like her ground-nuts, go to feed her

[435] [1] A bull is usually reckoned as worth about 30*s*., a heifer £2, a sheep from 3*s*. to 6*s*., a goat from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 4*s*. Prices depend on the season, and the age and condition of the animal. A bull exchanges for about 40 large baskets of unthreshed grain, sheep, and goats in proportion.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

The Animal

Health Department have done much good by castrating scrub bulls, but unfortunately the farmers themselves have carried the matter further, to a dangerous degree, by castrating many of the remaining bulls in order to sell them to itinerant butchers' agents. This trade has developed rapidly during recent years and the services of any bull at all, let alone a good bull, are not always readily obtainable. The difficulty is that the cattle are owned one or two head at a time and rarely in herds, and a farmer who wants money, and has a bull he can sell to obtain it, does not see why he should keep a bull to serve his neighbours' cows, and is prepared to risk his own cow, or cows, not finding a mate. The supply of bulls is a matter receiving the attention of the Animal Health Department, through the Native Administrations.

Tending of Livestock.

The farmers' attitude to livestock is typified by the fact that herding is the responsibility of small boys. The stock are housed at night in an open compartment within the compound. No bedding is supplied and the unbeaten floor of the standing is only irregularly cleaned out; the result is a very unhealthy mess in the rains. Except to save groundnut and cowpea hay for feeding to horses and donkeys, no provision is made for dry season fodder. The stock are turned out to browse where they will over the stubble and upon recognised grazing grounds between farms; but since these are generally burnt over, the fodder supply is sparse in quantity and poor in quality, and all stock show considerable loss of condition as the dry season advances, particularly in years when rains are late. The supply of water also presents a problem in many areas. In the rains, sheep and goats are generally tethered to short stakes along farm boundaries, and cattle are herded on the grazing grounds.

Fowls.

Of all classes of livestock probably fowls receive most attention. They are able to pick up a fair living by gleaning around threshing floors, and the protein constituent of their diet is obtained largely from white ants. These are collected with cowdung placed in an old pot inverted over an ant run in the soil. There is scarcely a single compound in North Mamprusi that does not engage in the export trade in fowls to Kumasi. In the dry season a man will collect together about twenty-five fowls at a time and head-load them in a long crate to some market on the road, usually Bolgatanga, or Savelugu, and either sell them to a middleman there, or join a lorry and sell them in Kumasi. With the proceeds from the sale of fowls, it is common to purchase grain in Dagomba or South Mamprusi, to re-sell in Navrongo or Zuarungu Area, and thus to show a profit upon both the journey down, and the journey up.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

to be profitably exported from distances more than 600 miles from the coast. The alternative is a local export to some part of the country with money to spend; the obvious solution lies in the export of livestock to Ashanti and the Colony.

Livestock Industry.

The conditions under which livestock are kept in North Mamprusi have been fully discussed under the heading "Animal Husbandry", pages 31 to 33. It has been shown that whilst livestock are used mainly for uneconomic purposes, marriage dowries and sacrifice, they are becoming increasingly regarded as a source of money; and with the rapid development in money consciousness which is proceeding to-day, there is no doubt that the value of livestock will become to be recognised more and more. Survey showed that 54% of compounds (probably rather less over the whole district) owned cattle of the West African Shorthorn type. Bullocks find a ready sale to butchers' agents at prices varying from £1 10s. to £3 15s.; and milk, in the form of curds, is sold in local markets. Nearly all compounds own sheep, goats, fowls, and guinea fowls, and the trade in fowls is already very well established. The market for livestock in Ashanti and the Colony is practically unlimited; only a very small proportion of the meat slaughtered is locally grown. But if this proportion is to be increased, local methods of animal husbandry must be improved. Attention to breeding alone is not enough, as the Director of Veterinary Services pointed out in his Annual Report for 1935-36 (12). And because the bulk of the livestock in the Gold Coast belong to the cultivators of the soil, it will be seen, that the development of mixed farming is just as necessary for the future of the livestock industry, as the development of the livestock industry is for the future of mixed farming. Thus the ultimate justification for the investment of capital in working bullocks and cattle-drawn implements must be in the export of livestock. Work with livestock is necessarily slow, but if good feeding and good breeding produce an improvement in the local stock equivalent to the improvement effected in Northern Nigeria, by attention to these matters with Zebu cattle (13)—and there would seem to be no reason why it should not—we shall have little difficulty in justifying the cost of a plough, when local unimproved bullocks are worth nearly £4 a head to butchers' agents at the present time.

Sale of Surplus Foodstuffs.

But before livestock receive better treatment the people themselves must have sufficient food, and it is by the sale, as food upon local markets, of a surplus of production over individual requirements that the first mixed farmers are likely to receive a return. At the present time, large quantities of grain are imported from

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11
Kusasi

Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Kusasi, during the dry season, and much of this is stored at such places as Bolgatanga, and sold during the time of greatest shortage, that is before early millet is reaped at the end of June. A sack of corn weighs approximately 180 lbs. and sells at from 14s. to 18s. a sack. This trade enables us to give a money value to the produce from our farms. It is interesting to examine the yields from the cultivation experiment in the Headman of Goragu's compound farm (see Appendix IV, Table 3). From this it will be seen that during a three-year period the total mean yield of grain per acre from "native" plots was 2,370 lbs., and from "ridged" plots (cultivation by hand in 1934 and 1935 and by plough in 1936), 4,384 lbs.; a mean increase per acre for three years of 2,014 lbs. If this increase had been sold in Bolgatanga market at 13s. for 180 lbs. (*i.e.*, 14s. less 1s. for the bag) it would have realised nearly £7 10s. It would not require many acres yielding at this rate to justify the expenditure of £4 upon implements and £6-£8 upon working bullocks, that is assuming the farmer had no bullocks of his own already. Furthermore, very much less labour was expended upon the "ridged" plots than "native". Admittedly other cultivation experiments have not given such spectacular results, but the indication is the same in all.

It is difficult to say how much grain it would take to saturate the local market, but by the time it becomes saturated the Department of Agriculture should have acquired sufficient information to advise farmers how a surplus can most profitably be fed to livestock. For this reason an experimental stock farm is an essential part of the machinery for mixed farming research. In passing it might be mentioned that foodstuff prices will fall, as saturation point is approached: whilst this will not be popular with fixed farmers, it will assist the poor man to get food more easily. In this way we shall be accomplishing one of our primary objects in working in North Mamprusi; for it is the poor man who creates the food shortage problem, not the would-be mixed farmer.

Kusasi Groundnut Trade.

A consideration of sources of farming capital would not be complete without reference to a newly developed trade in decorticated groundnuts and groundnut oil from Kusasi, for the Kumasi market. From a start of 200 bags in 1933 the export has developed to 9,000 bags in 1937 (weight per bag approximately 160 lbs.). The trade is almost entirely in the hands of Messrs. Chedid, who centralise the nuts in Bawku and send them on their lorries to Kumasi when the supply of sheep and goats will not give them a full load. The lorries come North with cola, salt, cloths, etc. The price paid to the producer for decorticated groundnuts is 8s.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11
Kusasi

to 8s. 6d. a bag (about £4 18s. per ton); and the cost of transport on a bag to Kumasi, a distance of 380 miles, is from 4s. to 5s., which works out at about 2d. per ton mile. The trade is of particular interest in that it shows the people in Kusasi are prepared to grow a crop to sell for cash, and that transport will follow production, even at so great a distance from the market.

CONCLUSIONS.

The time is ripe for the introduction of mixed farming. That is to utilise livestock, firstly, to provide an adequate food supply for the people; and secondly, to produce a surplus for sale, either directly, as in the case of groundnuts in Kusasi, or metabolized and sold in the form of livestock, for which we have seen there is a large market in the South. In cases where labour has to be hired for farm work, as upon school farms, and possibly upon the farms of salaried Chiefs, when tribute and tribute labour is commuted, mixed farming can be recommended immediately as a profitable investment. It is possible that the production of such money crops as groundnuts, cotton, ginger, and sesamum, which are not profitable to grow by hand methods of cultivation for an external market, might become profitable with animal cultivation.

The control of burning and the use of the material so protected, as dry season fodder or bedding for livestock and the manufacture of farmyard manure, is within the power of everyone to adopt with advantage. But animal cultivation has a limited application in North Mamprusi for two main reasons:—

1. Lack of farming capital. Some form of loan scheme similar to the one in Nigeria will have to be devised to overcome this difficulty. We must first prove that it will be possible for a farmer to repay his loan before we can prepare details.

2. Density of population, and the shortage of land. The average area of land cultivated by a man at present is 2½ acres but the average area farmed by a compound is 8 acres. The compound must therefore be the unit owning a plough and bullocks. The time so saved can be devoted to the rearing of livestock, making enclosures round farms and grazing lands, and so on.

It is probable that, ultimately, expansion will take place into areas at present unoccupied. This must be attended with careful control.

443

443 RETAIL MARKETING--extent and variety of retail specialization; types of retail outlets (e.g., itinerant merchants, markets, bazaars, general stores, trading posts, specialty shops, chain stores, department stores, mail-order houses); pricing (e.g., fixed, variable); services to customers (e.g., deliveries); specialized personnel (e.g., sales clerks); etc. See also:

Business organization 47
Description of business structures 347
Upkeep of store buildings 388
Trading centers 306
Accounting methods 451
Extension of credit 452
Employer-employee relations 456

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PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
ting grass and timber for roofing, handicraft work. Young men begin to go abroad temporarily.[1]	ported maize, plentiful and cheap at market.
FEBRUARY: As in January.	Grain issued for only one meal a day. Many purchasing grain rather than use up their own supplies. Ground-nuts and cow-peas regular and important supplements to cereal food. Women finding grain to augment supplies, by trading, etc. Market supplies still plentiful, prices average.
MARCH: As in February. Sporadic cleaning of fields and hoeing.	Grain supplies sinking and more carefully rationed. Children and women gleaning ground-nuts to stop hunger. People going to Mampuru and Nabte countries to purchase grain for re-sale. Grain still plentiful in market, also other products, e.g. yams (imported).[2]

[1] This month of plenitude marks the peak of the food cycle. Soon supplies diminish again; men who are setting up compounds of their own commence building operations; but almost every compound requires some repairs. House-building and thatching are crafts in which a great many men have no skill. They therefore have to invite (*pool*) neighbours or relatives who have the skill to carry out the repairs for them; and these have to be generously fed in recompense. A new house, again, is built co-operatively with the aid of kinsmen, relatives and friends, who also have to be generously fed.

With this further drain on his grain stores, the head of a unit of food economy has to go warily. Hence in spite of the ample and cheap grain available in the market, he begins to reduce the ration of grain he distributes to his dependants. In February the rationing gets stricter, for it is essential to keep a reserve against the first month of the rains 'to strengthen one' against the greater demands upon one's energy made by agricultural labour. They say this explains why those who can afford it buy grain for immediate consumption. Finally, just before the rains, supplies are sinking to the minimum which will be reached in the month preceeding the early millet harvest, with the usual effect of causing visits to neighbouring areas in search of grain to purchase.

The temporary migration of young men is more fully dealt with in a paper by M. Fortes, 'Culture Contact as a Dynamic Process', *Africa*, ix. 1, 1936.

[2] We have, in the above table, emphasized the place of cereals in the cycle because they constitute the staple food of the Tallensi; and as we are concerned with the domestic economy of food, we have referred to the market only in order

221 262 A striking correlation emerges from the above synopsis of the cycle of food economy. It will be seen that domestic food-supplies are at their lowest at the time—recognized as such by the natives—of the most strenuous output of physical labour, i.e. in May–June, and highest when there is least agricultural work. In other words, it would seem that food consumption is inversely correlated with food requirements, if we may assume that more food is needed to sustain the arduous agricultural labour of the rainy season than the leisure months of the dry season. How this affects the working capacity of the natives must be left to the social biologist to determine; it is a type of problem beyond the competence of an ethnographer. The
251 261 Tallensi have both excellent receptacles and adequate techniques for storing all kinds of food. We have seen grain and ground-nuts produced from granaries or storage baskets (*kusɔk*) twelve months after they had been packed, and in perfect condition. Even root crops and legumes, which appear to be more susceptible to damp and weevils, can be stored for a year. Nor, in our estimation, are the Tallensi

443 to bring out more clearly the fluctuations in domestic supplies. The market is a fundamental economic institution in Tale society, but we have space here only for a cursory comment on its function in relation to our main theme. Every kind of raw foodstuff, from grain to wild fruits and many varieties of cooked food can be purchased in the market. A visit to the market shows at once what the state of the domestic larder is; high prices indicate empty granaries, low prices, plentiful domestic supplies. The cooked food offered in the market illustrates the seasonal variation in supplementary diet very well. As soon as Bambara beans or frafra potatoes are lifted they appear, both raw and cooked, in the market. The food most commonly sold in the market is porridge (*sayabo*), the staple cereal food; but other cereal and pulse confections can be bought there, many kinds being especially prepared for sale, and rarely, if ever, cooked for home consumption. Such are *maasa*—fried millet-cake, *guor* and *kameha*, both made of flour cow-pea. A number of women carry on a regular trade in these luxury foods and thus reap a steady income. Beer is always on sale in the Tale markets, manufactured and sold by a few regular women traders, all Nankansi as far as we know. Only in the markets have we seen intoxicated men; never at ritual gatherings. The market is also the main supplier of tobacco, which most mature men and many old women chew or smoke, but which only a minority are able to grow for themselves, and of kola nuts, imported from Ashanti by foreign traders, and universally chewed as a stimulant by men, women, and even older children. Curdled milk (*bigbikir*), a luxury food, is generally obtained there, too. The market represents the point of contact between the basic subsistence economy of the natives and the money economy which exists side by side with it.

461

461 LABOR AND LEISURE--ideas of the value and dignity of labor; notions of pleasant and unpleasant tasks; distribution of labor and leisure time; incentives to labor (e.g., pride in craftsmanship, prestige, material rewards, compulsion); time and motion studies; intensity of effort; palliation of labor (e.g., with drugs, rhythm, music); work tempo (e.g., steady, intermittent); standards of productivity and production norms; laziness and malingering; rest periods; loafing and loitering; etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities 221
Unemployment 484
Leisure-time activities 517
Holidays 837
Slavery 887
Social offenses 889

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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682 sacrifices of expiation or else 'their house—i.e. line of descent—is destroyed (*ba yiri ŋmaarəme*)' in retribution. This is the strongest sanction against homicide among the Tallensi. Whether it is intended or accidental, whether the victim is a clansman or a stranger, and has been slain at home or abroad, homicide is a sin against the Earth and must be expiated. But it is so grave a sin that it can, in fact, never be wholly atoned for. 'You cannot finish paying' the Tallensi say. It is a sin that pursues the wrongdoer's agnatic descendants for generations.

627 682 577 The Tallensi have no juridical machinery for taking penal action against a murderer and do not exact compensation. Between clans homicide may lead to vengeance and war; within the clan it does not. In the latter case it is like a cow that has trampled on its calf and killed it, the natives say. In either case the matter is left to the arbitrament of Earth. Tallensi who have shed human blood take no pride in it. A man who can be persuaded to confide the story of how he killed another speaks of his deed as if it were forced on him by circumstances. Though homicide seems to have been an infrequent occurrence in the past, it was by no means rare; but every instance I have heard of was presented as a reprehensible action, even if it was due to provocation or done in self-help. Informants always draw the moral prescribed by Tale ethical values. So-and-so killed a man and died childless; So-and-so left only one young son; deaths pile up in such-and-such a family because their father had shot a man. In the long run, again, the reaction to sacrilege is greater respect for the moral norm and its ritual sanction.

578 682 Bloodshed and strife are symptoms and causes of deep rifts in or between human communities. The taboos against them show us the Earth as a sanction of solidarity within and between communities; and this is of particular interest in relation to the structure of the settlement. The bond between community and locality has moral implications for the natives that transcend the crude facts of spatial distribution and economic organization in which they are rooted. It is worth while tracing out these implications somewhat further from the starting-point of the individual farmer again.

The Social Framework of Production: Land Tenure

241 471 [461] 431 The farming unit among the Tallensi is the group of male agnates of a single household who usually form a nuclear lineage. Most of the plots it farms are owned by the farming unit, but some may be borrowed for a shorter or longer period and some held by gift. In the case of borrowed or gift land the farmer—distinguished as the 'owner of the farm' (*kuoraana*)—pays no rent to the owner—distinguished as 'the owner of the soil' (*tamraana*)—or tribute to a political authority. An annual gift of grain, when crops are good, is the only return he makes to the owner of the land, and this is a voluntary gesture of gratitude, not a jural obligation. Borrowed land always reverts to the owner. Theoretically gift land can also be resumed at will by the owner. In practice it often becomes the property of the recipient's lineage in the third or fourth generation after the gift, if it has been farmed continuously by that lineage. This is either because donor and recipient are usually kin, related in such a way that

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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four major segments of the clan have an equal role. All have the same obligations and the same rights, vested in them as corporate units defined in relation to the whole clan; and all the segments must participate in equal degree. A similar corporate activity in a clan like Zubiuŋ is a sacrifice to the External *Bɔɣar*, Duunkpalɔg.

The four sections of Tongo are equal and co-ordinate in political and jural matters. In religious matters of common interest Puhug is senior (*kpeem*) to the other sections. This is because Mosuor's grave and *bɔɣar* and Sɛɣahɔg's grave and *bɔɣar* are the exclusive charge of Puhug, whose section head (*yiɛuŋ kpeem*) always has custody of these shrines and officiates in sacrifices to them.

The Local Embodiment of the Ritual Focus of the Sub-clan

Puhug was the original home (*daboog*) of Mosuor. There he dwelt beside Tɛndaan Gɛnɔt, the site of whose *daboog* is now the sacred dancing-ground of the *Giŋgaaŋ* Festival, hence called Giŋgaaŋ Puhug. This is the hub of Tongo as an enduring and stable local unit. Whatever vicissitudes the clan may suffer, whether it expands or contracts, however widely its members may be dispersed, Giŋgaaŋ Puhug remains for ever fixed and inviolable, the heart of the clan and the visible and consecrated sign of its existence and persistence. At the edge of Giŋgaaŋ Puhug is the grave of Tɛndaan Gɛnɔt, and nearby are the graves of the first ancestors of Mosuor biis—Mosuor, Sɛɣahɔg, and Bɔɣada—marking the sites where their homesteads stood. Thus the ritual and ideological focus of Tongo's corporate unity as a descent group (and the same rule applies to all Tale clans) is directly bound up with its physical counterpart, the local focus of Tongo's unity and identity. In clans that have tɛndaanas, it is usually the principal Earth shrine (*tɔŋgban*) that is the consecrated local focus of the clan.

Mosuor's grave, marked by an irregular flat heap of large stones, lies under an enormous old baobab tree which the people of Tongo say *is* Mosuor (see map of Tongo). On the side of the trunk facing the grave are signs of the sacrifices offered there—dirty streaks of dried blood and flour-water, and patches of fowl and guinea-fowl feathers stuck to the trunk with blood. It is a prominent landmark in Puhug, and a favourite shade tree for the people of the nearby homesteads. There the old men come and rest on hot afternoons, infants are put out to sit, well protected from the sun, while their mothers get on with the household work, and older children come to play or to swing in the branches. It is characteristic of the Tallensi that the people of Tongo treat their most sacred shrines in this realistic and matter-of-fact way in the context of everyday life. The tree is sacred, it is a *Bayar*, but it is also just a tree, whose ritual significance is not relevant except on a ritual occasion. Then it is treated with appropriate reverence. And this is true, also, of ancestral graves, which are often treated very casually and sometimes allowed to fall into such neglect that none but the elders of the lineage descended from him know exactly where a particular ancestor's grave is. Mosuor's grave, however, being of such outstanding ritual importance for the whole of Tongo, is more carefully kept and is always treated with respect.

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592 361 no foundation in fact. The climate, the kind of raw material which is plentifully at hand, the economic system, and the social organization of the natives rather than the alleged lawlessness of former times, determine their mode of house-building. In any case, homesteads very often stand closer than fifty paces together, the distance at which a mediocre shot can hit a tree—though I have seen an arrow carry four times that distance.

592 181 A Talən's home is his castle in the psychological rather than the material sense. It is the centre and fount of his major interests, his dominant purposes, his deepest emotional attachments, and his whole scheme of values; it is his shelter, his storehouse, the stage of his life's drama. The Tallensi, unlike many African peoples, have no age sets or initiation schools. A person grows up and receives his entire education at home. If he practises a craft, such as leatherwork; or is a diviner, his home is his workshop or consulting place.

As an adult, all his economic enterprise issues from his home and is devoted primarily to its upkeep. Unless he is one of the few *nouveaux riches* of to-day he keeps all his material possessions there, and houses all his livestock within its walls. His sex life, in maturity, is centred there. His children, the supreme object of his aspirations, are born and grow up in his home under his care and control. He worships his immediate forbears there. His personal destiny, past, present, and future, revolves about his home, its stages perpetuated in the many shrines and other ritual objects that are housed in it. He receives his friends and relatives at home, and dispenses hospitality there; and if he has nothing to do would as lief recline under the shade tree at his own gateway as go making calls on others. Even the young men who like gallivanting about the markets spend much of their leisure at home.

592 181 626 The quintessence of his home, to a Talən, resides in his children, and above all his sons, the vehicles of his immortality. That is the essential meaning of *mar yiri*, 'to have a house'. Ask any native what happens to a man who does not adequately expiate a sacrilege such as murder. '*U yiri ymaarəme*—his house will fall to pieces,' is the answer, given with emphatic and solemn conviction, and often with circumstantial illustrations from experience or hearsay. A parent curses an insubordinate child, a chief or tendaana curses a clansman who has grossly insulted him, '*u ku nye yiri*—he will not see (i.e. have) a house', that is, he will die without offspring to perpetuate his line and to sacrifice to his spirit; and this is an extremely serious matter. It never fails to bring the culprit to heel with humble apologies. On the other hand, '*i na nye yiri*—you will have a house', is the most propitious blessing a diviner can convey to a man from his ancestor spirits.

592 593 Patrilocal residence and the tendency for the lineage to be localized give a man's domestic life greater continuity than a woman's. His natal family and his conjugal family are both strung on the same

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to strike her. Her parents-in-law, for instance, despite their authority over her, would not do so. If anything, they would try to restrain their son from beating her. Only her husband has that combination of authority and intimacy in relation to her which permits the use of physical force upon her.

But flight is not the only weapon a woman has in order to maintain her rights and privileges in her conjugal family. Once she is fairly free from the leading strings of her mother-in-law, she is the mistress of her time and energies. It is an accepted axiom of married life, which no man questions, that a wife is free to dispose of her time as she pleases, provided she does not hamper the essential economic activities of the household, or neglect her children, or remain away from home for unwarrantable periods or at times—e.g. during the Great Festivals—when all the members of the family should be together. The routine of domestic tasks, over which men have no control, is a strong line of defence against the interference of men in their wives' disposal of their time. But differences of opinion on this matter are a common cause of squabbles between husband and wife. A young woman dresses up to go to market; her husband objects, saying that other men will be paying court to her there, or that the children will be left hungry all day; she insists; and a heated argument ensues. Nine times out of ten the woman has her way. Occasionally the husband succeeds in stopping her, by persuasion or by force. It is only at sowing or harvest time, or when, for instance, preparations for an important ceremony are in hand, that a man has full control over his wife's time.

At all times a wife's freedom to arrange her work and her leisure as best suits her may subject her husband to inconvenience. If, at the end of the day, she is too preoccupied or too tired to cook, he can but grumble and go hungry. And if he annoys her she can make a point of being too busy to attend to some want of his or too tired to cook the evening meal. This, men say frankly, is one of the strongest arguments in favour of keeping on good terms with one's wife.

Tallensi regard these utilitarian rights and duties, services and attentions of husband and wife towards each other as a most important feature of marriage. But it is clear that they do not constitute the unique relationship that distinguishes the marriage tie from other social ties of the Tallensi. Thus a woman performs much the same utilitarian services as daughter in her natal home, and as mother, wife, and daughter-in-law in her conjugal home. They are but a part of the whole configuration of co-operation, mutual help, reciprocal services, etiquette, and mutual tolerance that keep the wheels of family life running smoothly. And it is clear, also, that they imply the existence of common interests that create a sense of mutual moral obligation.

This underlying bond of mutual moral obligation is the basic sanction of reciprocity and co-operation in the domestic family. In the case of

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and any of his dependants—between husband and wife, proxy father and son, older brother and younger brother. And, as we have mentioned before, its elements often stand out more clearly where the consolidating effect of the emotional ties between own parent and own child is absent. They emerge clearly, also, when there is a divergence between a son's (or other dependant's) desire for independence and his father's (or the household head's) claims on his labour and loyalty.

By the time a young man marries he has advanced on the path to economic independence beyond the stage of breeding chickens for himself. He has his own ground-nut plot and generally also his *senseyar*. This is a plot of land allocated to him by his father, or the head of the household, where he can grow the ordinary cereal crops. It may be no more than a few hundred square yards or it may be up to an acre in size. The larger his father's home farm (*saman*) is and the fewer his brothers, the larger will a young man's *senseyar* be. A man allocates these private plots to his sons with an eye to the future. When, in course of time, the sons (or *their* sons) separate, each will keep the plot given to him by their father as the portion of the patrimonial land that henceforth belongs exclusively to his agnatic descendants.

A young man cultivates his private grain plot and ground-nut plot in the spare time left after he has done the work required of him on his father's farm, which always has the prior claim. There is no hard-and-fast arrangement. Much is left to the young man's own discretion. He knows very well that the first essential is to make sure of the common food-supply. At the same time his father manages to keep a discreet but sharp eye on his economic activities. It is a firm rule of etiquette that no member of a family should go anywhere without informing the head of the family. When a young man goes off to hoe his grain plot or ground-nut plot in the morning he will tell his father, in what seems to be a casual aside, what he is going to do, if he has not already told him the previous day. Then the father will either let him go or he will ask his son to leave it for a day or two until they have finished this or that job on the household farm.

In a well-run family, and at most times, this loose arrangement works perfectly smoothly. But there are times when clashes occur; and there are families in which friction over this issue is common between father and son. For instance, there was the tussle between Naabdiya and his younger son Mosuor. Mosuor wanted to lift his ground-nuts so as to sell them and buy a new cloth for the Gingaaŋ Festival. Naabdiya, however, insisted that *his* ground-nuts should be lifted first, before the dry weather hardened the ground and made the task more laborious. Mosuor protested that Naabdiya was being unfair to him; Naabdiya's wife and the other children could help him in the meanwhile; and Mosuor went off to his ground-nut plot. This incensed Naabdiya, who cried out that the boy was flouting his commands, and in his anger he

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226 at a leisurely pace, stopping every now and then to pluck bunches of soft, heavy leaves. These they stick into their waistbands, in front and behind, as a substitute for the perineal belt which they remove to prevent its being damaged in the water. The throng presses gaily on, joking, laughing, and conversing.

226 515 562 834 Several hours before the fishing is due to begin the well-wooded banks of the river swarm with a jostling multitude. The small and very shallow pools scattered in the sandy reaches between the large fishing pools are filled with bathers. The segregation of the sexes, inchoate at the time of the approach to the pool, now becomes more explicit. The women tend to congregate apart from the men though communication between the two groups is perfectly free and frequent, and they bathe in different pools from the men. In explanation men declare with a smirk, "so that we can't see each other's sexual parts," but the close proximity to each other of the two groups of bathers and their unabashed bearing contradicts this allegation. Indeed nakedness is never a source of shame, though modesty requires a woman who has had children to cover the genitalia. But the men thus hint obscurely at the real explanation: the sexual dichotomy which runs through the whole culture, expressing itself in the division of labour and as now in a spontaneous but not rigid social segregation at certain times. It will be seen later that this principle emerges graphically in the actual technique of fishing. In the case of one pool, fished on two successive days, it took the extreme form of barring women altogether on the first day, on ritual grounds.

226 578 Besides the division in terms of sex, a distribution in accordance with political cleavages can be observed. Broadly speaking, the tribe is divided into two large political aggregates, the *Namoos* and the *Tallis* (the "real Tallensi"), each comprising several settlements or "lands" (*ten*, pl. *tes*). When the number of people is large, as in the first expedition of the season, each settlement occupies its own traditional place by the river, *Namoos* on one bank, *Tallis* on the other, more or less. In the small expeditions the groups merge more. Again there is nothing rigid about this political segregation. Bonds of kinship and of marriage unite every individual of the one group to the other group; but the disposition of the contingents nevertheless expresses a traditional though latent opposition between the two groups which requires little provocation to flare up.

461 322 While some bathe and others lounge about, conversing with friends, or the young girls flirt with the young men, many employ themselves usefully. Some men cut thick withes to insert into their fishing nets, others cut hoe shafts or axe shafts, shaping them roughly, to carry them home for finishing. Since the agricultural season is just beginning there is a ready sale for these articles. Some hack down saplings for rafters, some strip lengths of bark from the *bayana* trees, if any are about, for making the rough rope used in thatching, while others search for trees and shrubs used as household medicines, and many women begin to collect bundles of firewood to take back with them. The geographical setting of the fishing expedition thus creates a subsidiary economic situation which ensures that the day is not wasted, even if no fish are caught.

241 inches of soil. Because of the haphazard method of planting, great care has to be exercised not to damage the young plants. The work is tedious; and the grain stores at this season of the year are at their lowest (9); seldom is a man prepared to work for more [461] than two or three hours at a time, and the maximum area cultivated in a day is about $\frac{1}{10}$th acre. Hoeing is started near to the compound and works outward; by the time the bush farm is reached the crops there are almost choked with weeds, and commonly they receive a set-back in their early stages from which they never [471] recover. A farmer fortunate enough to have a good supply of grain may call his neighbours to assist with hoeing, in exchange [273] for food and "dam" (Nankani), the local guinea corn beer. Or farmers may take turn about to work on each others' farms. In a few cases labour is hired and paid money wages.

243 On land where early millet is planted it is usual to give three hoeings; two before harvesting early millet, and a final one to earth-up the late cereal afterwards. Land planted with a single cereal, guinea corn or late millet, is generally hoed only twice; or, in the case of some bush farms on the hills, once only.

Harvesting, Methods and Times.

241 Early millet is the first crop to be harvested, at the end of June or beginning of July, having occupied the ground for about 243 80 days. When mature, this crop is from 5 to 7 feet high; at this stage the interplanted late cereal is 3 to 4 feet high, and ground-crops are beginning to make a cover. It is common to pluck a few heads "green" for immediate consumption, but the grain is allowed to harden before the main harvest. During this period birds become a serious pest; children spend the day scaring them and women carry rattles, made from pieces of broken pottery threaded on to a thin stick.

The heads of millet are cut off at the neck by men using short knives, and women carry the crop in baskets to the compound to [542] dry. The best heads are selected for seed; second grade heads are stored, unthreshed, in a granary (see diagram by Muir and Williams (4)) and threshed as required for use. Poor heads—"konkoni" (Nankani)—are boiled, threshed, and stored in pots; this grain is used for thickening soups. When all the early millet 252 heads have been gathered, women pull up the remains of the plants and transport them to a flat rock, where they burn them slowly to obtain the ash, which is carefully collected in pots. The ash

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

262 is doubtful whether, given unlimited land, the local farmer would
178 be prepared to devote any more time to cultivation. The inherent fertility of virgin land would be quickly dissipated if existing farming methods were followed upon it. Therefore, to provide more land without giving attention to the system of farming to be followed would merely postpone solution of the problem. The maximum distance to "bush" land from any point in North Mamprusi is about 8 miles, and it would not appear unreasonable to expect a man to move this distance voluntarily, if an adequate food supply were his greatest consideration and the acquisition of more land would ensure it. Changing economic and social conditions are bringing about the necessity for changed methods of farming. There is little doubt that development will stimulate expansion into unpopulated areas; then will be the time to foster migration, not before.

Direct Causes.

241 Density of population is therefore only indirectly a cause of
262 recurrent food shortage; some of the more direct causes are:—

1. Farming practices which are not sufficiently intensive for conditons. A system of "fixed" cropping is followed and manuring is quite inadequate.

[46] 2. The innate distaste of the people for consistent labour, especially when there is a chance that it may not be essential. That is, a farmer would rather sacrifice to his ancestors for more rain—and perhaps spend the rest of the day at market (not marketing)—than to give his farm a surface cultivation to conserve the moisture already in the ground.

3. The lack of sufficient incentive, and a conservatism which makes a man prefer to cultivate a small area of impoverished land, cultivated by his ancestors, to going eight miles, or less, and having the labour of breaking up bush land (predial larceny is often offered as an excuse when bush farms are suggested).

4. Too great a reliance upon cereal crops. A bad season for cereals, or, as in recent years, depredations by locusts, means food shortage; that the season might have been a good one for root crops or legumes, does not affect the situation very much.